1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

cannot be understood until structural distance is known, since it is a reflection of it, and we must, therefore, ask the reader to forgive a certain obscurity at this point and to reserve criticism till we have had an opportunity of explaining more clearly what is meant by structural distance. 805 601 613

We have restricted our discussion to Nuer systems of time-reckoning and have not considered the way in which an individual perceives time. The subject bristles with difficulties. Thus an individual may reckon the passage of time by reference to the physical appearance and status of other individuals and to changes in his own life-history, but such a method of reckoning time has no wide collective validity. We confess, however, that our observations on the matter have been slight and that a fuller analysis is beyond our powers. We have merely indicated those aspects of the problem which are directly related to the description of modes of livelihood which has gone before and to the description of political institutions which follows. 805

We have remarked that the movement of structural time is, in a sense, an illusion, for the structure remains fairly constant and the perception of time is no more than the movement of persons, often as groups, through the structure. Thus age-sets succeed one another for ever, but there are never more than six in existence and the relative positions occupied by these six sets at any time are fixed structural points through which actual sets of persons pass in endless succession. Similarly, for reasons which we explain later, the Nuer system of lineages may be considered a fixed system, there being a constant number of steps between living persons and the founder of their clan and the lineages having a constant position relative to one another. However many generations succeed one another the depth and range of lineages does not increase unless there has been structural change. These statements are discussed more fully on pp. 198–200. 805 561 613

Beyond the limits of historical time we enter a plane of tradition in which a certain element of historical fact may be supposed to be incorporated in a complex of myth. Here the points of reference are the structural ones we have indicated. At one end this plane merges into history; at the other end into myth. Time perspective is here not a true impression of actual distances like that created by our dating technique, but a 805 173

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

805
173

reflection of relations between lineages, so that the traditional events recorded have to be placed at the points where the lineages concerned in them converge in their lines of ascent. The events have therefore a position in structure, but no exact position in historical time as we understand it. Beyond tradition lies the horizon of pure myth which is always seen in the same time perspective. One mythological event did not precede another, for myths explain customs of general social significance rather than the interrelations of particular segments and are, therefore, not structurally stratified. Explanations of any qualities of nature or of culture are drawn from this intellectual ambient which imposes limits on the Nuer world and makes it self-contained and entirely intelligible to Nuer in the relation of its parts. The world, peoples, and cultures all existed together from the same remote past.

It will have been noted that the Nuer time dimension is shallow. Valid history ends a century ago, and tradition, generously measured, takes us back only ten to twelve generations in lineage structure, and if we are right in supposing that lineage structure never grows, it follows that the distance between the beginning of the world and the present day remains unalterable. Time is thus not a continuum, but is a constant structural relationship between two points, the first and last persons in a line of agnatic descent. How shallow is Nuer time may be judged from the fact that the tree under which mankind came into being was still standing in Western Nuerland a few years ago!

Beyond the annual cycle time-reckoning is a conceptualization of the social structure, and the points of reference are a projection into the past of actual relations between groups of persons. It is less a means of co-ordinating events than of co-ordinating relationships, and is therefore mainly a looking-backwards, since relationships must be explained in terms of the past.

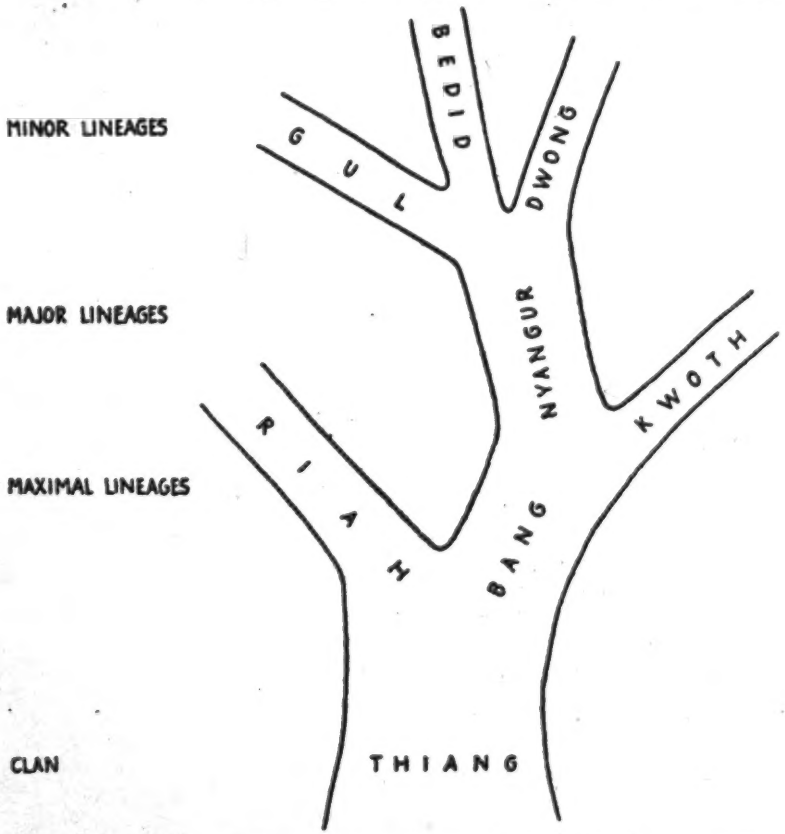
III

001

We have concluded that structural time is a reflection of structural distance. In the following sections we define further what we mean by structural distance, and make a formal,

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

613 single maximal lineage, B, in opposition to C, and not separate
614 lineages. Hence two lineages which are equal and opposite are composite in relation to a third, so that a man is a member of a lineage in relation to a certain group and not a member of it in relation to a different group. Lineage values are thus essentially



relative like tribal values, and we suggest later that the processes of lineage segmentation and political segmentation are to some extent co-ordinate.

613 Since humans propagate themselves, the clans might be sup-
614 posed to be further and further removed from their founder,
173 and the living representatives of a clan to become wider and wider separated in lineage structure. However, we do not believe that this is the case. In theory every man is a potential founder of a lineage, but, in fact, lineages spring from very few

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

613
614
173

names. The others, for one reason or another, drop out, so that only certain lines of descent are remembered. Also, in those lines that persist names drop out of the steps in ascent to the founder of the clan, so that the distance in generations from the founder of a clan to the present day remain fairly constant. We have suggested in our discussion on Nuer time-reckoning that there is always this difference between a true genealogy and a genealogy which Nuer deem to be true. The evidence for the assertion depends partly on a comparative study of East African genealogies and partly on a study of Nuer genealogies. We mention some of the reasons, arising from reflections on Nuer genealogies, that have led us to this conclusion, since the validity of some arguments, developed later in the chapter, depends on their acceptance.

(1) All the main clans have about ten to twelve generations from the present day to the ancestors who gave rise to them. There is no reason to suppose that the Nuer came into existence ten to twelve generations ago. (2) When a Nuer is asked his lineage he gives it by reference to an ancestor, the founder of his minimal lineage, who is from three to six, generally four to five, steps in ascent from the present day. These steps are certain and agreed upon. This is understandable, since five steps represent a man, his father, his grandfather, and his grandfather's father and grandfather, and since a man instructs his children in the names of his immediate forbears. It is evident that after five or six generations the names of ancestors become lost. Young men often do not know them, and there is frequent confusion and disagreement among older persons. The founder of the minor lineage must be placed somewhere between the founder of the minimal lineage and the founder of the major lineage; the founder of the major lineage must be placed somewhere between the founder of the minor lineage and the founder of the maximal lineage; and the founder of the maximal lineage must be placed somewhere between the founder of the major lineage and the founder of the clan. The names of these founders of lineage-branches must go into the line of ascent somewhere, and in a definite order, because they are significant points of reference. It is immaterial whether other names go in or not, and their order is without significance. Consequently some informants put them in and some leave them out, and some put them in one order and others in a different order. It is evident, moreover, that since the minimal lineage consists of four or five actual steps in ascent, there has been telescoping of the agnatic

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

613 614 173

line from the founder of the minimal lineage further up the line of ascent to the founder of the clan, for the founder of the minimal lineage was himself the extremity of another minimal lineage which has, by increase in generations, become the minor lineage, and so on. Consequently, even were the supposed founder of the clan the real founder of it, there ought to be at least sixteen steps from him to the present day, assuming that minimal lineages have always been of the same character as at the present time. The length of each fork in the tree of descent ought logically to be of equal length, whereas the twig, so to speak, is longer than the branch or stem from which it springs. (3) There is another way in which only significant ancestors, i.e. ancestors who form the apex of a triangle of descent, are denoted in genealogical trees, and irrelevant ancestors, i.e. ancestors who do not give their name to a group of descendants, are obscured and finally forgotten. Not only do links drop out of the direct line of descent, but also collateral lines merge. It is clear from a study of Nuer genealogies that the descendants of one or two brothers become numerous and dominant, that the descendants of others die out, and that the descendants of yet others are relatively few and weak and attach themselves, as is explained in later sections, by participation in local and corporate life, to a stronger and dominant collateral line. They become assimilated to this line in ordinary lineage reference and eventually are grafted on to it by misplacement of their founder, who becomes a son instead of a brother of its founder. The merging of collateral lines higher up a lineage seems to be common, and to be more frequent and necessary the higher up one proceeds. It is necessary because, as will be seen later, the lineage system provides one of the principles of political organization.

613 614

The structural form of clans remains constant, while actual lineages at any point in time are highly dynamic, creating new bifurcations and merging old ones. They may therefore be presented as trees. But a presentation more useful for sociological analysis is in terms of structural distance, for lineages are groups of living agnates, and the distance between them varies with their relative positions in clan structure. Thus, in the diagram below, the line A–B represents the JINACA clan. The agnatic distance between the MAR minimal lineage and other lineages of the same clan is represented both on the line A–B and also in its time depth by their point of convergence in ascent on the line B–C. The wider the range of agnation specified the further back their point of convergence, so that

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

608 in which large pockets of strangers and Dinka are incorporated
609 into the conceptual scheme of a tribe.

563 It has frequently been emphasized that political relations
773 are often expressed in speech as lineage relations, in the sense that one talks of a local community as though it were a lineage, thereby assimilating to a dominant lineage those who share the same community life with it; and that lineage relations are often expressed as political relations, in the sense that one talks of a lineage as though it were identical with the local community in which it is only a nucleus, thereby depriving the lineage of its unique agnatic status and giving it a general residential value. In conformity with this way of describing community interrelations, they are personified in myths and derived from personal relationships of a kinship kind.

613 We do not propose to give a collection of Nuer myths. We
773 have so far only mentioned one myth explaining group inter-
173 relations: that which tells why the Nuer raid the Dinka. There are very few myths of this general kind. Most relate to clans and lineages in their corporate territorialized form and explain their association with one another as tribes and tribal segments, particularly the relations between dominant lineages and large stranger lineages living with them. We are not always able to explain mythological relations by the present-day political system, but this can often be done, and where we fail to do it we attribute our inability to ignorance, especially to ignorance of tribal history.

The two large Lou tribal sections, the Jimac and the Jaajoah which appear on the map on p. 56, but not on the clan tree of the JINACA, the dominant clan of the tribe, on p. 196, are divisions called after the JIMAC and JAAJOAH lineages. They are said to be *gaat nyiet*, children of daughters of the founder of the JINACA clan, and there is a myth accounting for this maternal link. Denac was said to have had, according to the Lou story, four sons, named Yin, Dak, Bal, and Bany, by one wife, and Nyang and two nameless brothers by a second wife. These wives are sometimes said to have been called Nyagun and Nyamor and the two primary sections of the tribe, Gun and Mor, to be named after them. Nyang's two brothers were eaten by an ogre. When, afterwards, the sons of Denac went fishing, the four sons of one mother went by themselves and Nyang by himself, for he would not accompany his half-

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

613
173
T73

brothers, but pined for the sons of his mother. When he caught a fish someone would come and steal it from him, for he was all by himself and only a boy. When he came home he would not sit with the other boys facing his father, but sat apart with his back to him, and when his father asked him why he was troubled he replied that he was thinking of his brothers whom the ogre had eaten. His father said to him, 'Never mind, take your two sisters and let them be your brothers.' So when Nyang went fishing he was accompanied by his sisters Nyabil and Fadwai. Nyang is the founder of the GAALIEK lineage, Nyabil of the JIMAC lineage, and Fadwai of the JAAJOAH lineage. These lineages together form the kinship framework of the Mor primary section of the Lou tribe and the myth explains their association. This maternal link has not prevented intermarriage between the GAALIEK and the JIMAC. Apart from questions of ritual and exogamy the descendants of Nyabil and Fadwai are treated as though these daughters had been sons, and they possess a mythological patent which gives them equal status in the tribe with the *diel*. In tracing their agnatic ascent members of these lineages do not go further back than their ancestress. From her they continue to her father, Denac.

In the Gaawar tribe there is an important JAKAR lineage which is mythologically attached to the GAAWAR, the aristocrats of the tribe, in the following manner. A man called Kar, or Jakar, descended from heaven by a rope that connected the sky with a tamarind tree, probably the tree in Lang country beneath which mankind is said to have been created. He was later followed by War, the founder of the GAAWAR clan, who was found sitting in the tree by Kar's sister who was gathering firewood accompanied by her dog. She returned to tell her brother that she had found a man whose head was covered in blood. Kar tried to persuade him to come to the village but he refused to do so. They then sacrificed an ox and roasted its flesh and the smell so attracted War, who was very greedy, that he climbed down the tree and entered the village. When he had eaten he wanted to return to heaven, but Kar cut the rope. Mr. B. A. Lewis has kindly furnished me with what he says is a less common version, found in the Gaawar tribe. War fell from heaven in a rainstorm and was discovered by a dog which belonged to Logh, but was with Kwec's wife when she was looking for wood in the forest and War was found. Kwec's wife took him home with her and a dispute arose between Kwec and Logh about the ownership of the foundling. Logh claimed War on the ground that it was his dog which had discovered him, and Kwec claimed him because his wife had found him. Then Kar joined in the discussion, saying that War was his brother.

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

This myth brings War and Kar and Logh into some kind of relationship to one another and is to be explained by the fact that the two main clans in the Gaawar tribe, next to the aristocratic clan of the GAAWAR, are the JAKAR and the JALOGH. The JALOGH are presumably the same clan as live to the south of Dok country where a small territory is named after them. Kwec was, doubtless, the founder of the KWEC lineage after whom a small territory, next to the Jalogh country, is named. We may surmise that, since both lineages are found in Gaawar country at the present day and in its present site to the east of the Nile, they also had close relations with the GAAWAR when all three clans lived in their homeland to the west of the Nile.

The richest clan mythology is that of the GAATGANKIIR, and it clearly illustrates the mythological integration of lineages of different origins to the dominant lineage system in a political structure, and shows how territorial relations are given a kinship value.

There are several versions of many of the incidents relating to Kir, the founder of the GAATGANKIIR clan, and we give an abridgement of one of these. A Dinka of the Ngok tribe, called Yul, saw a stalk of a gourd on a river bank and, having followed it a long way, arrived at a huge gourd. He cut this gourd open and out of it came Kir with various ritual objects. Yul's wife suckled the child as well as her own baby, Gying. When Kir grew up he turned out to be a witch and magician and the sons of Yul tried to kill him because his evil powers were destroying the cattle. Only Gying remained Kir's friend, and said to him, as he fled from Yul's home, that he would one day follow after him and join him.

In his flight Kir came to the Nile where he saw a man, called Tik, in the river and asked him for help. Tik struck the waters of the Nile and cut them in two and Kir crossed over to the west bank. Kir told Tik that when he had found a place to settle in Tik was to come after him. Tik accompanied Kir till they met a man of the Wot tribe who took them to his home where the JIDIET, the dominant clan of the Wot, sacrificed a black ox so that the lethal power of witchcraft might leave Kir's eyes and enable him to look at people and cattle without killing them. Kir then dug a hole for himself in a termite-mound near a cattle camp of the GAAWAR, where he performed many strange feats. Eventually the GAAWAR offered sacrifices and persuaded him to leave the mound and took him to their camp.

Kir was then given a wife, Nyakwini, who bore him Thiang before he killed her with his witchcraft. He then married Nyabor who bore him Kun. He likewise killed her. The people then gave him

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

613
773
173

a lame woman, Duany, who bore him Jok. In Lou and Eastern Jikany versions the three wives were all daughters of Gee, the founder of the GAATGANGEKKA family of clans, and in versions to the west of the Nile the first two were GAAWAR and Duany a NYAPIR of the Bul tribe, but all accounts make Nyakwini and Nyabor more closely related to one another than either to Duany. After Duany had borne Jok she killed Kir with witchcraft, for she, also, was a witch. Later Thiang, her dead husband's eldest son, cohabited with her and begat Nyang.

In all the variants of the Kir myth the parts played by Gying and Tik are stressed. Gying was suckled with him and afterwards joined him and lived with him as a brother. When Kir died his eldest sons Thiang and Kun possessed cattle, but the youngest son, Jok, and Gying had no cattle. Thiang wanted to prevent Gying from acquiring cattle, but Kun gave him some, so Thiang said that Kun and Gying were to live together. Tik had saved Kir's life and had gone to live with him. There is a further story of how Gying and Tik were threatened by an ogre and shared a hut together and became like brothers, so that the lineages descended from these two men do not intermarry.

Without recording further details we may note how actual political relations are mythologically represented in the characters of these stories. The two largest segments of the Gaajak tribe which are named after nuclei of strangers are the Kong section, the stranger nucleus of which is a lineage descended from Tik, and the Dhille section, the stranger nucleus of which is a lineage descended from Gying, and these two sections live together as parts of the Reng primary section (see diagram on p. 140, and sketch-map on p. 58). The myth tells also how Jok and Nyang are sons of the same mother, Duany, Jok being begotten by Kir and Nyang by Thiang. This is a mythological representation of the structure of the Gaagwang tribe which has dominant lineage nuclei descended from both Nyang and Jok, and also of the political relations between the Gaagwang tribe and the Gaajok tribe, for these relations, especially to the west of the Nile, are of close alliance compared to the more distant relations between the Gaagwang tribe and the primary sections of the Gaajak tribe that also border them, the Thiang and the Reng. Thiang and Kun were begotten by Kir and borne by women who are generally represented as sisters, and the sections in which their descendants are dominant are the Thiang and Gaagwong primary sections of the Gaajak tribe, the third primary section of which, the Reng, has nuclei descended from Thiang, Gying, and Tik, whose relationships in the myth have already been noted.

[p. 233 contains no textual material]

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

613 773 173

In every Nuer tribe there are similar stories which explain the relations between the aristocratic clan and large stranger lineages living with it. Other myths explain the relations between these stranger lineages. Thus the lineages living at Nyueny and in neighbouring villages in Leek country, JUAK, NGWOL, JIKUL, &c., are all mythologically related to one another and to the dominant clan of the Leek tribe. These myths also explain the ritual symbols and observances of the lineages mentioned in them.

Actual interrelations of a political kind are thus explained and justified in mythological interrelations, and wherever, as far as we know, large lineages of different clans are politically associated there is a myth bringing their ancestors into some social relationship. This is especially the case between dominant lineages and stranger or Dinka lineages, and the mythological link gives them equality and fraternity in community life, while permitting ritual exclusiveness and intermarriage between them. Complete assimilation is impossible, for there must always be ritual distinction or the clan and lineage systems would collapse. Strangers have to be incorporated into the community of the dominant lineage and excluded from its agnatic structure.

XI

602 609 554

By adoption, the recognition of the equivalence of cognatic and agnatic ties in community life, and by mythological relationships, all persons in a tribal segment have kinship relationships of some kind to one another and the segments themselves are given a kinship relationship to each other within the political system. Although the categories of *diel*, *rul*, and *jaang* create social differentiation, it is on a ritual and domestic, rather than on a political, plane and is only indicated in certain situations of social life.

This is evident in the Nuer use of the three words denoting the three statuses. It is a common Nuer practice when addressing people and speaking publicly about them to use words which denote a closer relationship between them and the speaker than their actual relationship. This is commonly done with kinship terms and, also, in defining the status of a person in his tribe. Nuer do not emphasize that a man is a stranger or Dinka by

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

tribal chiefs and councils, or any other form of tribal government, we have to seek elsewhere for the organizing principle within the structure which gives it conceptual consistency and a certain measure of actual cohesion, and we find it in aristocratic status. In the absence of political institutions providing central administration in a tribe and co-ordinating its segments, it is the system of lineages of its dominant clan which gives it structural distinctness and unity by the association of lineage values, within a common agnatic structure, with the segments of a territorial system. In the absence of a chief or king, who might symbolize a tribe, its unity is expressed in the idiom of lineage and clan affiliation.

XII

In the Kir myth not only are the ancestors of important lineages, and, through them, the lineages and the territorial segments in which they are incorporated brought into relationship, but the ancestors of clans, and, through them, the clans and the tribes in which these clans are dominant, are linked together. Thus Kir, in various versions of the myth, is adopted by Gee, the founder of the GAATGANGEKKA family of clans; meets Wot, in whom the Wot tribe is personified; has relations with the GAAWAR; and so forth. The myth, thus, also mirrors intertribal relations and brings the whole of Nuerland into a single kinship structure, which we call the clan system as distinct from the lineage system of a clan.

The clan is the farthest range to which agnatic kinship is traced when the marriage of two persons is in question, but some clans have, nevertheless, an agnatic relationship to other clans, though Nuer do not regard it quite in the same way as relationship between lineages of a clan. They give the impression, when speaking of the ancestor of a clan, that they regard him as an historical figure, clearly delineated against a background of tradition, while, when speaking of the ancestor of a family of clans, they seem to regard him as a vaguer figure obscured in the dimness of myth.

We here note again that the dominant lineages in more than one tribe sometimes form part of the same clan structure. Thus, the lineages dominant in the Gaajok, Gaajak, and Gaagwang

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

descent. By so doing they stress community relations and obscure clan differentiation in a political context. This habit often makes their statements appear confused, and even contradictory, but it accords with a strong tendency in social life, as we have seen in discussing the various meanings of the word *'cieng'*, to identify the lineage system and the political system in a specific set of relations.

Many Nuer regard their ancestors Gee and Ghaak as the progenitors of all true Nuer, though one is given different classifications in different parts of Nuerland. Among the Lou it is said that all the tribes are descended from Gee, except the Jikany and Gaawar tribes. These two alone are differentiated because their proximity makes them significant for the Lou, whereas all the other tribes, which have no direct relations with the Lou, are vaguely classified as children of Gee. Among the Eastern Jikany all true Nuer tend to be classed as 'Gee' in contrast to 'Kir', the Jikany themselves. In the valley of the Zeraf and in Western Nuerland, where the tribes have a very much wider range of intertribal contacts, there is a wider range of differentiation. The Nuer tribes there fall into three classes: the Gee group, consisting of Bor, Lang, Rengyan, Bul, Wot, Ror, Thiang, and Lou, stretches in an unbroken line, from north-west to south-east, across the centre of Nuerland; the Ghaak group, consisting of Nuong, Dok, Jaloogh, Beegh, Gaankwac, and Rol, occupies the south-western part of Nuerland; and the Ril group, consisting of the Leek and Lak, occupies the lower reaches of the Zeraf and the Ghazal near their junction with the Nile. I have sometimes heard the Bul included in the Ril group. However, in Dok country and in adjacent tribal areas people further distinguish between the tribes elsewhere classed as sons of Ghaak and divide them into a Ghaak group, comprising Beegh, and Jaalogh, and a Gwea group, comprising Dok, Nuong, Gaankwac, and Rol.

In these classifications we note a further exemplification of what we have often observed elsewhere about Nuer classifications: their segmentary tendency and their relativity. Whilst, for example, other Nuer see the Dok and the Beegh as Ghaak they only see themselves as an undivided Ghaak group in opposition to the Gee fraternity and otherwise see themselves

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

segment opposed to other segments of the same order and yet also a member of the tribe which embraces all these segments, so also he is a member of a lineage opposed to other lineages of the same order and yet also a member of the clan which embraces all these lineages, and there is a definite correspondence between these two sets of affiliations, since the lineage is embodied in the segment and the clan in the tribe. Therefore, the distance in clan structure between two lineages of a dominant clan tends to correspond to the structural distance between the tribal segments with which they are associated. Hence the tribal system draws out and segments the dominant clans and gives them their characteristic lineage form. Evidence in support of this contention could be cited from any Nuer tribe; we propose to examine only a few typical examples.

We have observed that in the Lou tribe the Gaatbal and Rumjok secondary sections form the primary section of Gun in opposition to the Mor primary section, and how the dominant lineages of the Gaatbal and the Rumjok sections are descended from one wife of Denac and the dominant lineage of the Mor section is descended from a different wife, so that Gaatbal and Rumjok are to one another in a relation analogous to that of full brothers and the Gun stand to the Mor in a relation analogous to that of half-brothers. We have noted, likewise, how the dominant lineages of the Gaajak are descended from two closely related wives of Kir while the dominant lineages of the Gaajok and Gaagwang, which have a very close alliance, are descended from a third wife.

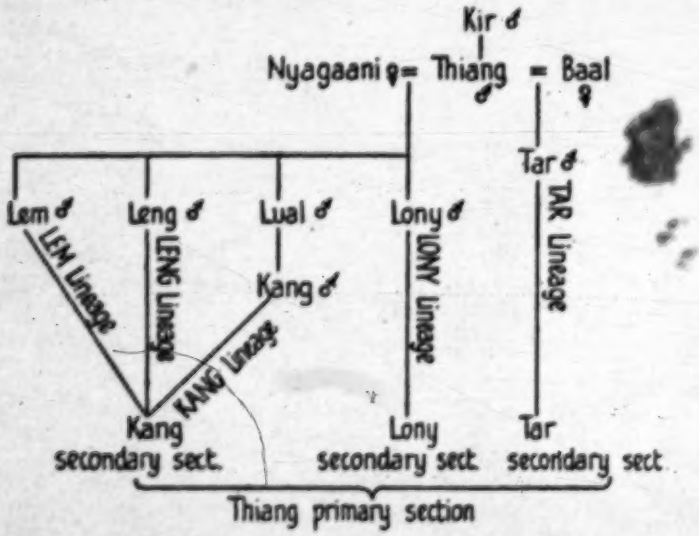
The GAATGANKIIR lineages in their relation to the segmentary structure of the Jikany tribes provide an excellent test of the hypothesis that lineage structure is twisted into the form of the political structure, for the same lineages are found at extremities of Nuerland where political conditions are not identical. Had I had more time in the Jikany countries, or had I formulated the problem more clearly in the little time I had to spend there, I might have been in a position to state my conclusions more dogmatically. We will briefly analyse the lineage system of the GAATGANKIIR in its relation to two of the Gaajak primary sections.

Thiang was the eldest son of Kir. He had two wives, Nyagaani and Baal. From these two wives spring the three main lineages of *ciang* Thiang, the Thiang primary tribal section, TAR, LONY (or GEK), and KANG. What is said to have happened is shown in the diagram on p. 242. Tar, being the only son of his mother, has founded an independent lineage and tribal section, that which lives in the

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

613
173

extreme south of Eastern Gaajak country. The other four lineages are all sprung from Nyagaani and are collectively known as *cieng* Nyagaani. At first her four sons stuck together, but later Lony's family increased and became more powerful than those of his brothers and tried to lord it over them, especially over Lem, the eldest. Kang, son of Lual, took the lead against Lony, and compelled him to migrate. Owing to the prominent part played by Kang, the lineages descended from Lem, Leng, and Lual are collectively known as *cieng* KANG in contrast to *cieng* LONY. These two lineages live to the extreme north of Eastern Gaajak country.[1] When the brothers are spoken about, as quarrelling, migrating, and so forth, it must be understood that the lineages and the local communities of which they form part are being personified and dramatized.

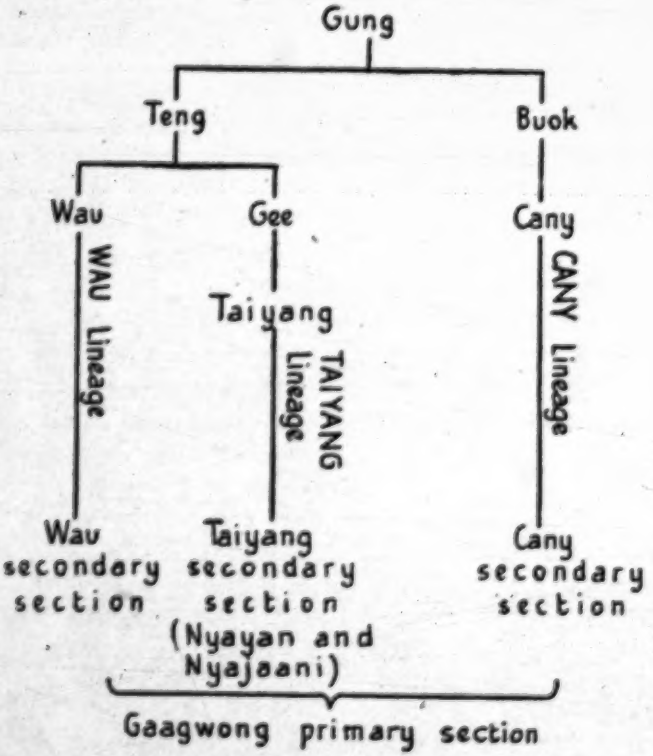


We see in this diagram how the splitting and merging of lineages, determined by the logic of lineage structure, follows the lines of tribal fission and fusion. Thus the descendants of Lem, Leng, and Lual, who live together, are merged in opposition to the LONY, and the LONY, who live adjacent to them, are merged with them in opposition to the TAR. The diagram does not show us the lines of descent which have become completely merged in those recorded,

[1] The distribution of the three divisions of the Thiang primary section of the Gaajak tribe contrasts with the unbroken territory of the segments of primary sections elsewhere in Nuerland. I have not visited the area, and cannot explain this unusual distribution by historical events nor state its structural consequences.

because such lines, having no localities specifically associated with them and therefore no community value, are not differentiated. That the diagram[1] does not truly record historic lineage growth, but is a distortion of it, is further suggested by the fact that there are, on an average, five generations from the present day to Lem and Leng, six to Lual, and seven to Lony, who was the youngest of the four brothers.

The GAAGWONG lineage, which is the nucleus of the Gaagwong section, is called after Gung, son of Kun, son of Kir. The GAAGWONG maximal lineage splits into several major lineages. To make illustration easier only those important among the Eastern Jikany are figured in the diagram: CANY, WAU, and TAIYANG (NYAYAN and NYAJAANI), the descendants of Buok, Wau, and Gee.



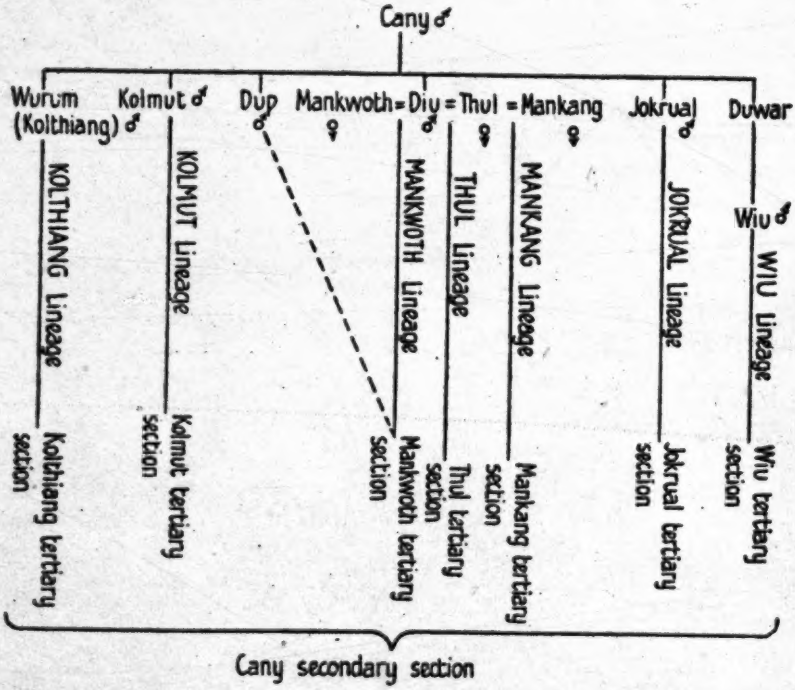
The CANY major lineage split up, as shown in the diagram on p. 244, into a number of smaller lineages of three to four generations in depth. In this diagram the traditional representation of cleavage between sons of the same father but of different mothers is shown

[1] [See p. 242 -- Analyst]

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

613
173

in the lines which spring from Diu through his three wives: Mankwoth, Thul, and Mankang. The descendants of Dup are normally referred to as *cieng* MANKWOTH because they live with them. Common residence has reacted on the lineage structure, so that the DUP lineage has become very largely merged in the MANKWOTH lineage. For this diagram I am indebted to the Government



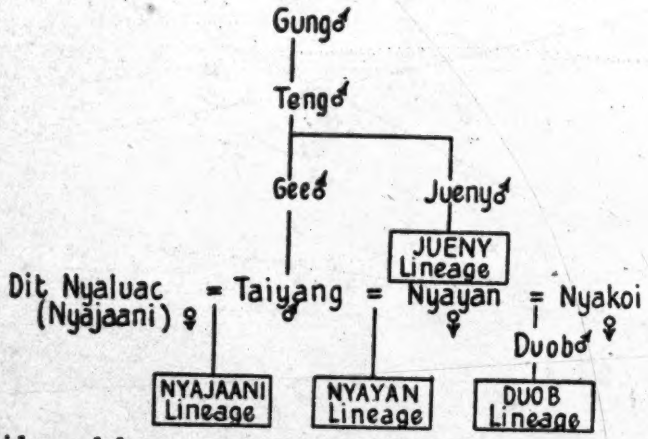
files of Nasser District. I have no record of the divisions of the WAU lineage.

In Western Nuerland WAU and CANY are politically unimportant lineages and are merged with *cieng* Taiyang, which is contrasted with *cieng* Jueny, called after Jueny, son of Teng, son of Gung, who founded a lineage politically unimportant among the Eastern Jikany. The TAIYANG lineage has two branches called after his wives Nyayan and Nyajaani. In Western Nuerland there is a third lineage springing from a third wife, Nyakoi.

It is interesting to observe that Jueny, whose line is politically unimportant among the Eastern Jikany, is there given as a son of Gee and merged in the TAIYANG line, while Duob is given as a son of Nyajaani and merged in her lineage. Here again we see how lineage structure is influenced by political relations.

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

 613
173



A wider and deeper analysis is required to prove the thesis we have put forward and of which we have given a few out of many examples. It is, however, supported by evidence of a different kind. We found that it was always easier to obtain a more complete record, and a longer line, of descent from members of dominant lineages in the larger tribes than in the smaller tribes, showing that greater attention is paid to the lineage system in the larger tribes and that the clan structure is broadened and deepened to serve its structural function. Also, we found it easy to obtain from any adult member of an aristocratic lineage an account of the other maximal and major lineages of his clan and a long list of ancestors, some nine or ten at least, giving a consistent length from the founder of the clan; whereas we found that we could not elicit the same information from members of clans which have no tribal associations. They were often able to trace their descent back for only some four to six generations, the time depth they gave was seldom consistent, and they were usually unable to give a coherent account of the other lineages of their clan. We attribute this fact to the absence of systemization through association with tribal structures. A lineage does not stand in territorial opposition to other lineages of its clan, but has with them only a vague ceremonial relationship, and this relationship may never be expressed in corporate action. Consequently there is generally a complete absence of any elaborate system of lineages like those of the dominant clans. There are many JIMEM clansmen and doubtless one could by

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

putting together their genealogies construct some sort of tree of descent from Mem, in which the agnatic relationship between various lineages could be indicated; but it would be very unlike the spontaneous statements that at once delineate the lineage system of large clans like the JINACA, associated with tribal territories.

FIG. 15. Leather flail.

It is also very noticeable that Nuer knowledge of the lineage system of a dominant clan tends to be restricted to those parts of the system that correspond to segments of their tribe. Thus the JINACA lineages which are associated with segments of the Lou tribe are well known to Lou tribesmen, but they have no, or very little, knowledge of the JINACA lineages of the Rengyan tribe. Likewise I experienced much difficulty in obtaining from Gaajok and Gaajak tribesmen a clear account of the lineages of the GAATGANKIIR clan which form the dominant nucleus of the Gaagwang tribe, though they were well informed about the lineages of the same clan which are associated with segments of their own tribes.

It follows from our account that, as we have suggested before, the lineage system of a clan can only to a very limited extent be considered a true record of descent. Not only does its time depth appear to be limited and fixed, but also the distance between collateral lineages appears to be determined by the political distance between the sections with which these lineages are associated, and it may be supposed that a lineage only persists as a distinct line of descent when it is significant politically. Ancestors above the founder of a minimal lineage are relevant only as points of departure for denoting lines of descent when these lines are rendered significant by the political role of the lineage system. We have suggested that the depth of lineages is a function of the range of counting agnation on an existential plane, and we now further suggest that the range of counting agnation is largely determined by its organizing role in political structure.

6: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1938
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

build their huts and byres. As most of Lou country is under water in the rains they are then literally islands. 133 312

The Sobat begins to rise at the end of April or the beginning of May and it is at its highest when the rains are at their greatest. Water flows over its banks forming lagoons and down the streams which traverse Lou country. According to the Nuer, as the water flows out of the Sobat southwards down these streams it meets the rainwater flowing northwards from their upper reaches. Thus one may observe the Pibor flowing first one way and then the other way. Whilst rainwater pours in numerous small channels into the streams they are discharging water along swampy depressions into the interior of the country.

The amount of surface water in Lou country varies from year to year but in most years it is flooded to several inches deep from July to September. This would not prevent one from trekking, unpleasant experience though it would be, but the depressions which occur at frequent intervals are a more serious obstacle for they necessitate constant wading through deep water. Even at the end of May long treks are more than Europeans care to face—the Nuer themselves move freely at all seasons of the year. Thus, at the end of May, in 1935, I found it a struggle to reach Konye from Akobo though it is only a distance of some ten miles. In July of the same year I was practically imprisoned at Yakwac for water lay everywhere several inches deep at the back of the hamlet and progress through the rank grasses was laborious and even dangerous because it was impossible to detect the deep water-filled holes in which a leg might easily be broken.

Sometimes the inundation reaches the proportions of a flood. Lou Nuer have told me that the Fadang Dinka, who occupied Lou country before the Nuer ousted them, once sustained a season of drought followed by such devastating floods that people lived on the tops of trees and ate leaves. There was great loss of life among the older people. Jackson records that in 1918 "An abnormally high river resulted in the Bahr el Zeraf overflowing its banks and inundating [173]

8:Howell E, G-5 (1942-1944)1954
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

There is no verb in the Nuer language meaning 'border', and th
181 imperative is not used with any sense of authority behind it. To get another man to perform some task on his behalf the Nuer must first draw attention to some special relationship between them, whether it be real or fictitious. It is an appeal to the mutual obligations inherent in kinship and is expressed in kinship terms. *'Gat mar'*, 'O kinsman', is the preface to any request which might otherwise take the form of an order. By this I do not mean that the imperative is never used, but it is used only to persons with whom the speaker has an actual and constant relationship, and usually only when the speaker is a senior kinsman. When telling a foreman wood-cutter, for example, to order his men to cut down certain trees, the District Commissioner, allowed greater licence than others, will use the imperative, but the foreman will pass the order on in more euphemistic terms and include himself in the effort to be made. This is merely an example of the exceptional independence of character of the Nuer and their refusal to admit superiority or domination.

973 There is, however, a word which implies not so much 'authority',
624 even in a general sense, as 'leadership', or more precisely 'spokesmanship'. The expression *ruic Naadh*, 'leaders of the people', is frequently used when referring to outstanding personalities of the past. The meaning can only be understood by reference to Nuer history. In the early stages, particularly during the period of invasion and expansion when the Nuer were more closely co-ordinated in tribal groups[1] and united by a common purpose, some form of leadership was not only necessary but more easily achieved. Nuer talk of Buogh Kerfeil, the leader of the Gaawar during their migration across the Bahr el Jebel on to the Zeraf Island and again in their raids to the east into Dinka territory, as *ruic* Ganwaar; Wur Winyang and his father Winyang Kwac were both *ruic* of the Lak Nuer at one time, while in Lou we hear of Bedit Kweinyang, who is associated in Nuer tradition with Latjor of the Jikany and led the people against the Anuak to the east. In Lou, after Bedit's death, Bec Colieth led the majority of the tribe back towards the west into their present habitat, partly because of repeated raids by the Anuak who had the advantage of firearms which they traded from the Abyssinians, and partly because of the ravages of fly on their cattle. The third *ruic* was Nyakong, a Leopard-Skin Chief of Jimem extraction, who at first led the Lou Nuer against the Arab slavers but subsequently, like Nuer Teng in Gaawar, turned traitor.[2] Their position was subsequently acquired by the 'prophet' Ngundeng and his son Gwek.

[1] It has already been noted that the Nuer were probably then less numerous and tribal groups much smaller than today.

[2] Bedit Kweinyang was a *kuar thoi* or water expert. Bec Colieth was a *wut ghok* or cattle expert. Nyakong was a Leopard-Skin Chief—as indeed was Ngundeang, his successor. I am indebted to Mr. B. A. Lewis for this information. See also B. A. Lewis, 'Nuer Spokesmen', *S.N.R.*, 1951.

8:Howell E, G-5 (1942-1944)1954
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

We have seen that the period of invasion from the west, when the Nuer had a high degree of political cohesion, was followed by a period of expansion and absorption of Dinka. In the absence of external opposition a process of segmentation and political fission followed. In Gaawar we find that the descendants of Kerfeil began to lose their influence, particularly during the early period of Arab penetration, and it is at this period too that the division of Gaawar into the Bar and Radh primary segments became particularly marked. The majority of the Radh threw in their lot with Arab slavers and preyed upon their neighbours, and although the line of political cleavage did not follow strictly the distinction between the primary segments of the tribe, the Bar section to the south, joined by certain Radh secondary segments living in that direction and especially those resident on the Zeraf Island, were in permanent opposition to the remainder of the Radh. At this period Nuar Mer, an adopted son (of Dinka origin) of the Kerfeil lineage, is sometimes referred to as *ruic* of the Radh, while in Bar, although there was never sufficient cohesion to allow complete ascendancy, we hear of such leaders as Liaab Liou. Finally, in the event of extreme danger the Bar began to turn to Deng Likea, who certainly had no hereditary claim to leadership but had magical powers and the gift of prophecy much admired by the people. When the Dervishes withdrew he rallied the forces of Bar around him, inflicted a crushing defeat on the treacherous Nuer sections who had assisted them, and killed Nuar Mer. Deng Likea is also referred to as *ruic* Ganwaar. This process can be traced in most Nuer tribes.

For a while the concept of *ruic Naadh* remained vested in the Nuer 'prophets' in opposition to foreign aggression in the form of the present Government, but this has vanished since their defeat and removal, and nowadays if a Nuer is asked who is *ruic Nāadh*, he will reply that it is the Government or more likely the District Commissioner.

The term *ruic*, like the word *cieng*, is relative to the social structure. There were also *ruic* whose influence was effective only in segments of a tribe and their significance was greatest at a period when political cohesion on a tribal scale was at its lowest ebb. There was no idea of an institutionalized authority set at the head of a tribe or a tribal segment, though there was perhaps always a tendency for the office to run on hereditary lines within the dominant lineage. Any person might achieve such influence over his fellows by reason of certain qualities which the Nuer consider admirable: generosity in the giving of cattle and in hospitality, which itself indicates a special regard for the obligations of kinship; wisdom and even temper in settling disputes between others; ability to hold the group together, a further expression of the kinship idea; bravery and powers of leadership in war.

These characteristics are also inherent in the conception of the *gat*

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

631 617 (1) The territory of each tribe is clearly marked off from those of its neighbours. Each tribe has its permanent villages and its fields of economic exploitation. The Lou, for instance, have their tribal grazing grounds, hunting areas, wells and lakes and rivers for dry season occupation and for fishing. The Gaajok also have their grazing grounds, etc., and if the Lou infringe on these there is sure to be fighting unless some arrangement has been reached between the tribal sections concerned.

(2) Each tribe has not only its territory, but its members have a 619 common name and sentiment. Thus Lek, Lou, Lak, Gaawär, etc., are the names by which the country and its occupants are known. Lou country is known as *rol looka* (genitive of lou) and Lek country is known as *rol legni* (genitive of lek), and an inhabitant of these two countries is spoken of as *ran looka* and *ran legni* respectively.

I am unable always to give the etymology of these tribal names. Some of them are clan names like Gaajok and Gaawär, since the tribe is named after its dominant clan. I will speak later of the meaning of clan names. Other tribes have stories accounting for their names, but these are in the nature of popular etymology and are sometimes contradictory. Thus the Lou and Rengyan tribes have aristocracies sprung 173 619 from a common ancestor, Denac, and are said to be so called because there was a fight between the herd bulls of the two lineages. A *tut ma lou* (mouse-coloured bull) represented the lineage which migrated to Lou country and a *tut ma reng yan* (bull with fawn markings) represented the lineage which remained behind in Rengyan country (part of the country marked Jagei in the sketch map). Hence the two countries and the tribesmen who occupy them are called after those two bulls. I have heard a similar story accounting for the split which took place between the lineages which give their names to Lek and Kärlual countries. Here again the bulls of the two lineages had a fight, that occupying Lek country being represented by a *tut ma lek* (bull with giraffe-like markings) and that occupying Kärlual country being represented by a *tut ma kär lual* (bull with brown markings). Another man told me that when the original occupiers of Lek country entered it they discovered a pool crowded with a species of fish which they caught to satisfy their hunger, and that, as this species of fish is known as *lek*, the country and tribe 619 were called after them. Jekany is another tribal name of which the meaning is far from clear. Jackson (p. 75) recounts that when Kir

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

been the name of a bullock which formed part of the bride-wealth with which his mother was married. Thus I have heard a Nuer suggest that Thiang was *thak me ca kwen man* (the bullock by which his (the lineage founder) mother was married). It is seldom that the Nuer are certain about the origin of such names. The question is, however, one of philological rather than sociological importance. Often I can offer no explanation of the meaning of a lineage cognomen, e.g., the lineages of GAAGWANG and GAAGWONG (*gaat gwang* and *gaat gwong*) among the Jekany. Miss Huffman gives *gwong* for hedgehog and *guong* for guinea fowl and *gwang* for axillary or sound of fish in water, but none of these meanings give a clue to the origin of the lineage names. Jackson (pp. 75–76) suggests the origin of the name Gwang by reference to the Kir cycle of myths and his account of Nuer names in general will give an idea of the innumerable incidents which determine the birth names of Nuer (pp. 171–173). Of Gwang he writes :—

> " On the death of Kir, Madjok was appointed by his father as head of the tribe and given the hereditary leopard skin, without which no case of killing can be tried. Matiung and Kunjokjak decided privately not to accept Madjok as their chieftain, but to deprive him of the guardianship of the sacred spear. . . . When this agreement was come to Madjok was outside looking after the cattle, but on his return he at once divined that something was wrong. He spoke to his relations and was greeted with the remark that he was from henceforth of no more account and had been deprived of the leopard skin and sacred spear. . . . His wife shortly afterwards gave birth to a boy named Gwang, i.e., the secret plot." (pp. 75-76.)

I cannot corroborate this tale, but it is a good example of the way in which a Nuer gets his birth name, which then becomes the cognomen of his lineage. It will be noticed in my paper that sometimes lineages are called after women and this is generally evident from the feminine prefix *nya*. I defer discussion on this feature till a paper on Nuer kinship in which setting it will be more easily explained.

What exactly is meant by lineage and clan? One thing is fairly certain, namely, that the Nuer does not think in group abstractions called clans. In fact, as far as I am aware, he has no word meaning clan and you cannot ask a man an equivalent of " What is your clan? "

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

614 their common kinship by a common sentiment towards the clan name and ritual symbols and by the prohibition of marriage between their
[613] families. But when they belong to the same minor lineage they recognise their kinship by awareness of the exact relationship in which they stand to one another in the genealogical system. Nevertheless any competent Nuer genealogist can, if pressed, produce a good table of genealogical ascent to the founder of his clan with the result that it is possible, even in such a huge clan as the GAT GAN KIIR of the Jekany tribes, to place every single clansman and clanswoman on a single genealogical chart showing their genealogical descent from Kir and, therefore, the genealogical relationship of any clansman to any other clansman. Such a chart would not be likely to embody a correct genealogy, but it would be recognised by the Nuer as being substantially correct.

614 Consequently one cannot say that relationship ends with the clan
619 or that it is the largest of Nuer lineages, but we have to define it as the largest exogamous lineage. For the common ancestor of most Nuer clans is the same person. Jackson has given a very good account of the way in which the Nuer clans are part of a related system which I propose to call the Family of Nuer Clans. It is necessary to say that it is not at all clear from Jackson's or other accounts, including my own notes, how this family of clans are inter-related. It is particularly a problem which requires detailed research among the " Homeland Nuer " to the west of the Nile. One of the reasons why it is difficult to draw more than an approximate tree of the Family of Nuer Clans is the confusion which has always existed between the tribe and the clan, with the inevitable result that when we are told that Lou or Lak are sons of such-and-such an ancestor we are helpless, since tribesmen of Lou and Lak form political aggregates of composite ancestry and cannot possibly have common ancestors. What is meant is that the dominant clan element of the tribe are the sons of the such-and-such an ancestor, but as his tree of descent is not given it is difficult to proceed upon such a supposition.

614 I will condense here the main discoveries of Mr. Jackson in this field,
173 together with the writings of the late Capt. Fergusson and notes taken
773 by myself. There figure in all accounts certain mythical persons who
776] link the ancestors of the Nuer clans to Kwoth, God, who made them and from whom they are directly descended. In this essay the first persons we need notice are Gee and Ghaak, two brothers who are possibly to be

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

614
173
773

regarded as historical personages. According to Jackson's account, from A'ak (his spelling for Ghaak) are sprung Nuong, Dok, Jaluk, Qwei (Beiq (Gad) Quaish)[1] (spellings in this paper are Nyuong, Dok, Jaluk, Kwe, Beegh, Gaatkwac, for these tribes) and from Ga'a (Jackson's spelling of Gee) are sprung Bor,[2] Lang,[2] Raiyung,[2] Wott,[2], Ror,[2] Bull, Leiq,[2] Lak,[2] Tiung,[2] Lau,[2] Keirluwal[2] (spellings in this paper are Bör, Läng, Rengyan, Wot, Ror, Bul, Lek, Lak, Thiang, Lou, Kärlual, for these tribes). All the Nuer clans, with few exceptions, fit into this family. It is not at all clear, however, from Jackson's account who are the ancestors of many of the clans he lists, since he speaks of tribes as though they were clans. And, indeed, the Nuer himself often speaks in the same manner, identifying linguistically the tribe with the dominant clan element of the area in which it lives. Thus they may speak of Lou as being descended from Denac when what they mean is that the dominant clan of Lou country are descendants from Denac. It is, therefore, impossible at present to draw up a genealogical table which will show the descent of all the Nuer clans who spring from Gee and his brother. On the eastern side of the Nile, among the Lou, at any rate, one only hears of Gee and not of his brother. In this tribe people speak as though you were either a pure Nuer descended ultimately from Gee or a Dinka or a descendant of Wär or Kir.

Kir, the founder of the GAT GAN KIIR, who form the nucleus of the Jikany tribes, was, according to all accounts, found in a gourd by the Ngok Dinka and was brought up by them. He later married three daughters of Gee by whom he gave birth to the major lineages of his clan, the GAAJOK, the three GAAJAK, and the GAAGWONG. The GAT GAN KIIR clan is, therefore, attached through its mothers to the lineage of Gee.

All accounts equally agree in saying that Wär, the ancestor of the GAAWÄR clan, who are, presumably, the dominant element in the Gaawär tribe, fell down from heaven. Jackson says that he was brought up by A'ak and that his descendants are considered to have attached themselves to the Ghaak division of the Nuer nation.

[1] Jackson says that Beiq and Quaish belong to A'ak, but he does not give A'ak as their ancestor in the following paragraph nor in his genealogical tables, *id.* pp. 72 and 79.

[2] All born of the same mother. All west bank tribes.

[3] Najh, Reill and Tiung are three sons of one mother. Najh is the ancestor of Raiyung and Lau and Reill the ancestor of Keirlual, Leiq and Lak.

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

614 The ancestor of the JIKUL clan is also said to have fallen down from
173 heaven, and Jackson says that he was fostered by Gee to whose division
773 his descendants considered themselves attached. Nowhere do they form a dominant clan element in a tribe but are scattered among many tribes.

The late Capt. Fergusson speaks of these two national divisions as Ghraark and Gair. On the western bank Ghraark are Nuong, Adok, and Gwai; and Gair are Bul, Lake, Jakaing, Bur, Naijh, Wad, and Lung.[1]

619 Considering the confusion which has existed between clan and tribe,
614 Jackson's classification into the Gee and Ghaak[2] groups cannot be regarded as exact though it may well be conventional. I was given a somewhat similar division myself by a man from the west bank of the Nile. But it appears at first sight that there are two pertinent criticisms of the classification. In the first place several clans are obviously missing, e.g., JIDIET and JIMEM. In the second place it is doubtful what line of descent is reckoned when speaking of a tribe as descended from Gee or Ghaak, e.g., the Lak tribe apparently comprises two main lineages, *gaat twot* Dok, children of Dok aristocrats, and *gaat nya* Legni, children of Lek aristocrats through the female line and of doubtful parentage through the male line. Whilst, even if this is correct, they would both belong to the Gee group of clans in a conventional grouping it is of some importance to know their exact mode of descent.[3] Under the circumstances we can only make a conventional classification which is a mixture of clan and tribal units and wait till further research elucidates the true state of affairs. It is possible that the Family of Nuer Clans is correctly described in confused and hazy terms, since it may well be conceived by the Nuer without logical system. For it may be pointed out that errors are often not the fault of observers like Jackson or myself but are due to the hazy notions which the Nuer themselves have about their ancestry, at any rate on collateral lines. Thus one well-informed man told me that the aristocratic lineages of Lou, Rengyan, and Thiang tribes are all descended from Denac by his three

[1] Unpublished Government report.

[2] Besides A'ak (Jackson) and Ghraark I have heard the name Gwea, and one old man said that there were three brothers, Gee, Ghaak, and Gwea—Ghaak producing the aristocratic lineages in Kwe, Jaluk, Beegh countries, and Gwea producing the aristocratic lineages in Dok, Nyuong, Gaaktwac, and Rol countries.

[3] One informant, Tut, said that the Gaawär tribe count as belonging to the Ghaak group and the Lak tribe as belonging to the Gee group, though it is difficult to know exactly what he meant.

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

the same footing as an ordinary resident born into the community. On the other hand I was told by some Eastern Jekany Nuer at Nasser that once a Dinka always a Dinka was the rule, and that the children and grandchildren of Dinkas never counted as equal to pure Nuer in blood-cattle assessment. I regard this statement, however, as being, in all probability, too rigidly formulated.

The second element in a Nuer village are the *rul*. A *rul* is a stranger, one who is not a member of the *diel*, one who has no place in the lineage of the dominant clan. Such people may be more numerous than the clan itself but they have not the same hereditary status in the tribe. Sometimes their lineages compose powerful tribal sections and in these sections they form a dominant lineage of their own. They are linked by sociological ties, often mythological in form, to the *diel* of the tribe. Thus the powerful sections of Reng and Kŏng of the Gaajak tribe are not *diel* but *rul*. The Reng section is united to the genealogy of Kir by the supposition that Reng the founder of some of its lineages (Col and Dhillrak) was equivalent to *gat manlen* (mother's sister's son) to Kir, his mother being a sister to the Ngok Dinka woman who nursed Kir and brought him up, while the founder of another lineage of this section, the Kŏng, was a man called Tik, who is described in the Kir myths as having given him supernatural assistance and saved his life from avengers. The Jemac and Jaajoah clans, which give their names to two secondary tribal sections[1] of the Lou tribe, are not of the dominant Lou clan, the Jinaca, but are nuclei of two large segments which, together with the Gaaliek section, comprise the Mor moiety. Here again there is a myth which unites them to the *diel* of the tribe. Denac (Nac) is said to have had four sons, Yin, Dak, Bal and Bany, by one wife, and Nyaang and two brothers, who are nameless, by another wife. Nyaang's two brothers were killed by a strange monster, which figures often in Nuer mythology, and is known as a *let*. When the sons of Denac went fishing the four full brothers went on their own and Nyaang by himself, for he would not accompany his brothers. Consequently when he caught a fish someone would come and steal it from him as he was all by himself. When he came home he would not sit on the ground facing his father as the other sons did but sat apart by himself with his back to his father and gazing in the opposite direction. When his father asked him what was the matter with him, he replied that he was thinking of his two

[1] In the Jemac section are included the important Jaagweth lineage who are supposed to be distantly related to the Jemac.

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

554 brothers whom the *let* had eaten. His father said to him, " Never mind, take your two sisters and let them be your brothers." So in future when Nyaang went fishing he went with his sisters Nyabil and Fadwai. Nyaang is the founder of the GAALIEK lineage, Nyabil of the JEMAC lineage, Fadwei of the JAAJOAH lineage. Whenever we find large sections living as *rul* in a tribe we may expect to discover that bonds have been created between them and the *diel* by myths of the kind cited above. This mythological patent gives them a status in the tribe which is nearly equal to that of the *diel* and amounts to adoption into their kinship framework. [61] This is often accomplished in Nuer society through the kinship value of the mother's line, for although lineages are, for purposes of descent, reckoned widest through the male line and comprise only agnates in respect to the inheritance of certain clan heirlooms, nevertheless descent through the female line has powerful recognition and there is a tendency for the kinship group to take the form of an association of cognates, of men and their sons and daughters and the children of sons and daughters. When strangers come to live in the village of *diel* and marry into their families there is always a drive towards matrilocal conditions, and descent through the mother is stressed so that the lineage of the strangers' sons is traced to the mother and through her linked to the clan of *diel*. We have already cited a good example of this process in the case of the JEMAC and JAAJOAH clans who trace their descent to the name of their ancestresses while the names of their husbands have been forgotten. Nevertheless, in spite of this, they form separate exogamous groups since they cannot be members of the clan of their ancestresses. They are *gaat nyal*, children of daughters, in contrast to *gaat twot*, children of " bulls " or children of sons. However, in some respects the original daughter who gave birth to the stranger's lineage is treated as though she had been a son, as the myth about Nyaang explicitly states, so that the lineage which springs from her still grows on her own genealogical tree. In this way there is always a tendency to translate bonds of contiguity into bonds of kinship.

584 Not all strangers form such important lineages as the THIANG, JEMAC, JAAJOAH (Lou tribe), GAAT TIEK, GAAT REANG (Gaajak tribe). Many *rul* are members of small lineages of strangers living in the midst of other small foreign lineages all of which are aggregated around a nucleus of *gaat twot*. Thus in Lou country, among the Lou aristocratic element, the

12:Evans-Pritchard E-S (1930-1931) 1933
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

JIKACA, one finds many members of such clans as the JIMEM, JUAK, KIEK, KWERMOANG, in every section. These clans have no longer a *wec* (a home) of their own. Thus there is a story that the JIMEM once had a big *wec* but when some of them were absent their food was eaten by their brothers. This led to a quarrel, which resulted in the dispersal of the clan, and now, like the other clans mentioned above, they have no central homeland. There is, however, said to be a small JIMEM pocket near Lek country.

In the migration of the Nuer eastwards across the Nile there does not appear to have been any systematic colonisation, if we except the Jekany occupation of Dinkaland. Parties of warriors would raid the nearest Dinka homesteads and carry off their boys and girls and cattle. These warriors at first returned home with their spoil but later a portion of them settled down with their wives and families and built homesteads to the east of the Nile, where they were still in touch with their relatives across the river. Slowly there was a drift further and further eastwards, and whilst the bulk of the conquering warriors belonged to one clan originally there followed a steady infiltration from other clans whose members attached themselves to the original conquerors and settled among them. Also it must be presumed that before the Nuer crossed the Nile and conquered the Dinka country, which lay to the east of that river, some clans were already nuclei of political aggregation from other clans and from Dinka not unlike the aggregations which we find of the west bank of the Nile to-day. At the present time, moreover, families move freely about the country and attach themselves to new local groups into which they marry. Especially does this seem to be the case among the Western Nuer where there is a perfect jumble of small clan lineages. The link between newcomers and the lineages among which they settle is not so much the link of marriage as of descent, since the birth of a child unites the two families of husband and wife by a genealogical link and the sons of the wife become children of the husband's lineage and sister's children of the wife's lineage.

The manner in which lineages split up was well described to me by a Dok man. Members of a lineage give birth to children and they become numerous and spread over the countryside, wandering here and there and everywhere (*oike dak piny*). Then their close relationship (*mar*) ends (*ci mar thuɔ̈l*). They go and live in the midst of other clans who are

14: Huffman M-5 (no date) 1931
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

Chapter One

THE TRIBE—HISTORY AND APPEARANCE

101 THE Nuer tribe are found in the southern part of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in the Nasser and Abwong districts and also on the Zeraf island and along the Nile.

161 At the Rejaf Language Conference in 1928, the Nuer population was estimated as 450,000.

565 There are a certain number of Nuer who constitute what they call their 'aristocracy'. These are not supposed to intermarry as they are considered as one family. They are called 'dil'. A chief is always a 'dil'.

622 There are various chiefs in different parts of Nuerland, but their individual domains are not large. The people do not make obeisance before them as other tribesmen do when in the presence of their chief. But they show them respect and preference in many ways. If a chief is among those waiting to go across the river in canoes, he is always accorded a place in the first canoe to go across.

Then there are chiefs of the leopard skin, which position is hereditary. These chiefs wear a leopard skin over the shoulders, which is the insignia of their position and authority.

STORIES OF ORIGIN

773 The Nuer have a number of stories of their origin in folk-lore tales which are handed down from one generation to another. They have a firm belief in these tales of long ago. 'Would our people lie to us?' they ask.

A very large gourd is supposed to have fallen down from heaven. In it were a spear, a leopard's skin, and a person. This person they call Kiir and he is the father of the first Nuer.

• 173 They also tell the following tale about the time when the Nuer first came to the country they now inhabit.

14: Huffman M-5 (no date) 1931
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

THE TRIBE—HISTORY AND APPEARANCE

173 The Nuer people came to this country long ago, many, many years ago. In a country far away to the west, over across the Nile, there were many, many people.

Latjor, one of the Nuer chiefs, called his people to accompany him as he wanted to go to a distant country where there were no people.

They started out, travelling eastward. They came to the Nile at a point about ten miles south of the present site of Melut. They had no boats. The river was wide. They did not know how they could get across.

While they waited on the bank, talking the matter over, they saw a large blue heron standing in the middle of the river. They wondered among themselves whether it was standing on an island or on floating grass or possibly on a tree. Latjor, their leader, a tall, fearless man, said he would try to wade out to it and investigate.

He waded in. The water was ankle deep, then knee deep. A little farther on it was waist deep, but he waded clear over to the other side. Then his people were not afraid but crossed over after him.

This fording place is called the Ford of the Blue Heron because the blue heron showed it to them.

Latjor led his people eastward, seeking for a good location until they reached Abyssinia. An epidemic of smallpox killed many of his Nuer. Those who remained returned westward and settled in the uninhabited area through which they had passed. Latjor settled in Dwac which is a village in the Garjiok section. He named the different sections of Nuerland after his sons—Garjak, Garjiok, Lau, Gagwang, Geuwar, and Lak.

APPEARANCE AND CLOTHING

[147] 302 The Nuer man is tall, muscular, straight of back, and clear-eyed. He powders his whole body with ashes made from